THE NEW REPUBLIC

Adams and Hamilton

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Finland's Perilous Neutrality

Don Cook

The Professional Teacher

The Editors

Eakins in Retrospect

Frank Getlein

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

And So, Into the Night

★ We have always wondered what goes on inside one of these ultra-right cells; where they are held, who attends them. TRB has eyes everywhere and West Coast Operative X-9 has just sent in his report. Seems he attended an organizational meeting of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade: "Meeting billed as 'anti-Communist non-action' gathering, designed solely to educate in Red infiltration mechanisms. Who could resist that? Met in private living room, about 20 present. Solid-citizen type, community pillars; kind you can count on to aid civic projects. The text – 'Knowledge is power'. Leader introduced; said he attended only organizational meetings, then moves on to organize next groups. Played tape by Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, Australian divine now touring America; tape mostly historical with emotional overtone, 'Communism' substituted for 'brimstone'. Tape quoted Stalin as saying peace with capitalism impossible. Literature circulated: we should read J. Edgar Hoover, Dean Manion, Fulton Lewis, Jr., assorted reformed ex-Communists.

"Our leader, popeyed missionary-salesman type, picked up Stalin quotation from Schwarz tape and attributed it to Khrushchev; nobody noticed or seemed to mind. Then we discussed local problems. What commentator should we listen to? Member of audience hopefully suggested right-wing commentator sponsored by neighborhood bank. 'Too liberal,' said our leader firmly. 'If you listen closely you can see he isn't a true anti-Communist.' Sensation; group surprised but pleased to be put on right track.

"The Message: Communism is engulfing us; it's in the air, everywhere; much of it put out by liberal newsmen and authors . . . dupes. What to do? Refute everything not 100 percent American. United States must quit UN, contains 'known Communists' (baffling point not elaborated). End foreign aid; eliminate income tax.

"Leader very tolerant – told us not to call names . . . gratified approval; then everyone proceeded to call names. Leader archly revealed worry lest wife be prosecuted for writing abusive letters to Kennedy. Smiles. Noted word 'Communism' rarely used except as 'Godless Communism'.

"Leader asked, did some of us have children? 'Yes, yes'. Do any of you subscribe to *Humpty-Dumpty* magazine? 'Yes, yes.' Well; if I were you I wouldn't allow it in the house. (Gasps.) I'm burning mine. (Astonishment.) Magazine proposed that children quit trick-treating at Hallowe'en and substitute collecting pennies for UNICEF. (Audible sensation.)

"Audience asked questions. One or two seemed unstable but most were solid, respectable type with social status; seemed sincere; filled with deep fear. Several mentioned Eisenhower – seemed to feel protective cover removed. Heard phrase several times, 'If Communists come . . .' Seemed to feel it real and imminent, a Bataan death march with children carted off. One woman put it – 'First, They would give us everything They thought we wanted, then They would disarm us, then They would clamp on the lid with total Communism, and shoot the landowners.'

"And so out into the dangerous California night."

Father and Son

★ Ambassador Kennedy had to stay in London when young Jack finished Harvard in the war, but when he learned his son was graduating *cum laude* in political science, *magna cum laude* on his thesis he sent a cable: TWO THINGS I ALWAYS KNEW ABOUT YOU ONE THAT YOU ARE SMART TWO THAT YOU ARE A SWELL GUY LOVE DAD.

Rich Joseph Kennedy helped line up 1960 Democratic convention delegates for his son in New York and New Jersey in the operation that undermined Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio, but his conservative views belonged to another age. At the NAM dinner this month the President lightly observed that most industrialists voted against him in 1960 save "for a very few who were under the impression that I was my father's son." Fiercely proud of his son, Joseph Kennedy did not interfere at the White House.

Insane Logic

★ Before the Federal Reserve System, local banks were on their own and none were wholly safe. Ultimately it was seen that dollar protection could not be given locally. Now the dollar has moved into international perils because it has been made, with the pound, a world currency. The situation is as anachronistic as it used to be for local banks on Main Street. Fairly soon, it seems to us, some new international currency must be devised because the continual fear of an adverse American trade balance, loss of gold and so-called "runs on the dollar" are interfering with America's vital domestic affairs.

Economist Henry Wallich, testifying here recently, said, "Many billions of GNP (US gross national product), hundreds of thousands of jobs, the great imponderables of foreign policy are at stake, all because of some $2 or $3 billion a year which it would take to put our balance of payments into sustainable shape." There is an insane logic about this. Fear of balance of payments deficits cut short cyclical expansion under Eisenhower and might again under Kennedy. It is like saying, "We cannot afford to be prosperous." The balance of payments in terms of the dollar and the pound severely limit our freedom of domestic action.

Writing from Brussels, James Reston notes that the US now has $17 billion in reserves, $21 billion in liabilities; Britain (the other reserve currency country) has only $3 billion reserve, $11 billion in liabilities. But the Common Market countries (without reserve currency responsibilities) have $16 billion reserves and *no* outstanding liabilities. This would be settled quickly enough if the discrepancy were among local US clearing houses; we hope an effective system of common Western monetary reserves arrives soon; or must we have a crisis first?

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 146 Number 1 Issue 2461 January 1, 1962*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6. D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.* *Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

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There was something true to the landscape of this particular December in the charade acted out on Christmas Day inside the no-man's land separating the deadlocked battalions of Laos. The three princely leaders of the rival Laotian factions were to convene on December 26 for a day of peacemaking which had been on again-off again for nine months, and their advance men had assembled at the scene to go over the ground rules. The issues were not the niceties of agenda or protocol, but rather the radius of each of the "security zones" which would ring the living quarters of the three furtive negotiators. If visions of daggers and assassins dance in our heads this doesn't seem wholly out of place in the year of Lumumba's murder, of Dag Hammarskjold's fiery death, of Nehru's march into Goa and even – perhaps – of Sukarno's assault on West Irian.

Reacting to the distemper of the international community, Adlai Stevenson made his startling statement on December 19 that failure of the Security Council to condemn Indian aggression was "the first act of a drama which could kill the UN." But the critical fact was that Council members as diverse in their political commitment as Liberia, the United Arab Republic and Ceylon joined the Soviet Union in supporting India. Mr. Stevenson himself hastened to add later that "the numerous reports of the death of the UN which have been circulating recently were, as Mark Twain used to say, 'greatly exaggerated.'. . . Its trials have toughened it." With almost all of the Afro-Asian regimes united on the acceptability of the Indian coup, the problem posed for Mr. Stevenson and the US should properly be defined not in terms of legality on one side arrayed against incipient anarchy and disorder on the other, but of the widening psychological distance between old and new nationalisms.

So much that has been said and written about the developing countries has focused on the facade of imposing personalities and blueprints of economic growth that the actual character of the international scene has often been obscured. Americans who were spending an estimated $200 million on ribbon and fancy wrappings for Christmas have understandable difficulty making contact with a still largely feudal world engaged in the savage business of social revolution and racial self-assertion. The disability of the US with its unique history has been given enduring definition by Louis Hartz: Can a people "born free" ever understand peoples that have to become so? Can it ever understand itself?

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The Professional Teacher

The United Federation of Teachers has won the New York City bargaining election discussed in these pages three weeks ago, and will soon represent the city's 43,000 teachers in dealings with the school board. Not only could the victory give New York's teachers a much broader role in educational policy-making than teachers have ever had in the past, it could also pave the way to similar developments in other cities where American Federation of Teachers locals hold sway.

Many of our readers have taken an interest in this election, and the complex issues it raises. A Newark teacher points out to us, for example, that contrary to *The New Republic's* claim, the AFT is not an organization exclusively for teachers. His AFT local can and does admit administrators. The AFT's Chicago headquarters replies that AFT locals can, if they want, admit principals but cannot under any circumstances admit superintendents or others who hire and fire teachers. Many locals apparently follow the Newark practice of admitting principals; many others don't.

Other correspondents have denied *The New Republic's* charge that the AFT is little concerned with the development of professional standards among teachers. Statements of high purpose in AFT constitutions seem, however, to be the main evidence to support this claim. AFT headquarters concedes that it has made little effort to deal with the certification problem. Similarly, the AFT, like the NEA, is opposed to merit pay for teachers, on the ground that no satisfactory system of rating teachers exists. This objection is certainly valid at the moment, but the AFT is also apathetic about efforts to devise effective methods of evaluating teachers' work, and without such evaluation professionalism will certainly remain a will o' the wisp. The evidence, then, suggests that with some local exceptions AFT concern with professional standards is mostly rhetorical.

The biggest issue raised by our correspondents is whether teacher control of the schools is really desirable. The President of the Idaho Federation of Teachers, Glady's R. Messex thinks so. Teachers, she writes, need a voice in picking superintendents:

"According to research reported by the Kellogg Foundation, superintendents are far less intelligent and measurably less well educated than teachers they supervise. Most frequently advancing from coaching positions, these men were frequently physical education majors, yet these are the people who are the ones who determine school policy and programs and select the teaching staff! And besides, they decide what the Education Association thinks and does as well. Teachers just won't speak up on anything at all when the men who determine their position on the educational ladder are present. Instead they adopt a gray neutrality of personality which guarantees the persistence of the status quo. . . ."

On the other hand, the principal of a New Jersey Junior High School, Harry T. Gumaer, charges that "Your editorial reenforces a stereotype of teachers and their unions (the good guys) fighting nobly for 'ultimate control' of the important things in education, against school board and administrators (the bad guys)."

Furthermore, Gumaer argues, even if superintendents aren't an impressive bunch, that is an inevitable byproduct of a democratic society: "The point seems to be overlooked that the public school system in America was created in the *public* interest, and that the public through its chosen representatives must have ultimate control. If a state or local school board is incompetent or politically inspired, this is the fault of the electorate."

Frederick L. Redefer, professor of education at NYU, sums up the issue: "You seem to intimate that if only teachers had a larger share in administering the schools, everything would be better. This does not necessarily hold. Teachers like administrators reflect the dominant values of our society. As classroom teachers they now have more freedom and power than they exercise. Most administrators are former teachers who as administrators repeat all the clichés included in your article. In positions of power, they proceed to act like administrators.

"A major source of difficulty is the whole structuring of our schools that has not changed since the days of untrained teachers who had to be directed. The structuring supported by tradition, rules, regulations and salary differentials remains the same so that those who become a part of it behave accordingly. The former president of the Teachers Union becomes a model superintendent just as the former union leader in the boss's clothes often out-bosses the boss. The structuring of our colleges is not much better with their hierarchies of vice presidents, assistant deans and assistants to the dean. The changes you desire will not occur until there is a revamping of the structural organization of schools and colleges that support the behavior you bemoan."

We could not agree more wholeheartedly. American schools, as currently organized, provide an almost hopelessly stulifying setting, in which creative youngsters inevitably turn to extracurricular activities for satisfaction, and creative teachers turn either to administration, research, or some completely different calling. But is not professional control the best hope for changing all this, for turning schools into federations of autonomous classroom experts instead of tightly-regimented bureaucratic hierarchies?

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"Our Moral Duty . . ."

"There stands before you a murderer of the people and an enemy of mankind . . . untouchable . . . a ferocious beast, a tiger in the jungle . . . a creature outside of the pale." These were the words with which Israeli prosecutor Gideon Hausner, summing up the case for the prosecution, described Adolf Eichmann. For four months a tale of horrors had been unfolded in the court such that few could balk at his words.

Yet to many spectators in the court, this crescendo of vituperation must have seemed inappropriate to the pallid nonentity seated in the dock, his papers stacked neatly in front of him, speaking and writing with bureaucratic punctiliousness – the very embodiment of a Prussian clerk, the archetype of bloodless mediocrity. "I am not a monster," Eichmann insisted in his last statement to the court, and aside from his career as the head of the Jewish Department of the Gestapo, he certainly was not.

What then moved him – and the countless other clerks, teachers and ordinary German burgers – to become murderers of millions? A political myth. The Eichmanns murdered not from lust but from a conviction – the conviction that the Jews were the enemy of Germany and of the human race. "We had a moral duty," Himmler said in a famous speech in 1944," to exterminate this nation which wanted to exterminate ours." Such a myth stood traditional values on their head, driving the zealous Nazi to destroy whole peoples in the name of humanity. Hence the self-pity in which they indulged when committing these misdeeds. "How hard is our lot, how terrifying our duty. It is to us that the gruesome task of social disinfection, of ridding the world of the Jewish bacilli, has fallen."

The absurd tales of the Jewish conspiracy, born in the fertile imaginations of a generation of anti-Semitic writers, thus bore their bloody fruit in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Similar political fantasies, nourished by fear and bewilderment, are today widespread in America. Perhaps the most important lesson to be drawn from the Eichmann trial, especially from the concluding part of the verdict in which the judges explore the inner world of Eichmann, is that such enticing absurdities, singularly resistant to reason, must always be taken seriously, never laughed off as the ephemeral productions of "the lunatic fringe."

Surely, however, these myths cannot be suppressed by violence. In demanding the death sentence, Hausner argued that Eichmann's death would serve as a deterrent to neo-Nazis. "Nazism has not yet vanished from the world. I fear that recently the Nazis have gained strength. It should be loudly proclaimed that whoever does the acts of Eichmann will be punished with the utmost severity." But fear will not daunt ideological murderers; indeed, as Israel's refusal to stipulate capital punishment in other cases suggests, an execution is likely to fan the very passions it aims at curbing.

If Eichmann is to serve as a lesson to humanity, perhaps the judges should have heeded the suggestion of an Israeli journalist that a special prison be erected on Israel's Memorial Mountain, in which Eichmann, invisible to outsiders, would languish until his natural death, and his ghost forever.

Test Case in Latin America

While the joint Kennedy-Betancourt communique from Caracas did little to explain the President's decision to fly to Latin America earlier this month, Venezuela's importance as an opponent of Fidelism and showcase for non-Communist reform suffice to explain the trip.

Before President Betancourt severed relations with Castro on November 11, the only Latin American governments to have done so were oligarchical or dictatorial. Betancourt was careful not to rush the break, preferring to let Castro's dictatorial methods (for which Venezuelans who remember their own Jiminez regime have a strong distaste) disillusion the Venezuelan Left. It is little wonder then that Castro, in his speech on December 2, again singled out Betancourt for special bracketing among the "imperialist lackeys."

Venezuela is the only sizable Latin American country currently engaged in a revolutionary social transformation within a genuinely democratic framework, and Betancourt's methods have given the rest of the hemisphere an impressive example. Not much less impressive has been his success in selling the idea of responsible democracy to the politically inexperienced Venezuelans over strong competition from Communist and *fidelista* sloganizers. If Betancourt fails, Castro's point that his own type of revolution is best for all of Latin America will have been hammered home.

Betancourt's most urgent problem, as in other Latin American countries, is an agrarian reform which not only redistributes the land but ends the political domination of the big landowners. Such reform was inaugurated in 1960 and is going forward at a slow but seemingly certain pace. Only agrarian prosperity can halt the vast influx of small farmers to the cities, where unemployment has become serious. The construction industry, overexpanded under the dictator Jiminez to absorb many ex-peasants, is depressed. New public building must be held up until Venezuela's enormous budget deficit can be controlled. Yet the current austerity program aimed at cutting the deficit and meeting old debts also tends to discourage business and investment, thus keeping tax revenues down and unemployment high. The recession in wealthy Venezuela is in

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many ways an artificial phenomenon brought on by the upheavals which followed the overthrow of the old regime and a psychological crisis of confidence in the future of the economy, but until it is reversed reform and development will drag. Venezuela needs more than extensive US credits, but they would help, as Señor Betancourt doubtless made clear to Mr. Kennedy.

Northern Rhodesia

Kenneth Kaunda is a gentle vegetarian of Christian conviction who hopes to lead his people of Northern Rhodesia to independence along a Gandhian path. Sir Roy Welensky, once a champion prizefighter, is a charming blockbuster of a man pledged to perpetuate white dominance in Central Africa. Along with Reginald Maudling, Britain's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Kaunda and Welensky hold the key to the future of Africa south of the Congo, with its rich minerals, and its easy access to the South African Republic, Angola, and Mozambique.

Explored by David Livingstone a century ago, Northern Rhodesia is populated by small islands of 74,000 whites and 10,000 Asians and coloreds in a sea of 2.6 million blacks. It is the second largest producer of copper in the world (after the US) and has substantial private US and British investments. Since 1924 it has been a British protectorate, administered by the Colonial Office with assistance from local white settlers. Federation was imposed from above in 1953 as an experiment in "partnership" between black and white. But Africans rejected the experiment then and have derided its hypocrisy since. In the contest for British favor Sir Roy has led the settlers and Mr. Kaunda has championed the *indigenes*. The former has spoken about multi-racial comity ("partnership") as a bulwark against the spread of Communism in Southern Africa. He has patiently explained the dangers of black nationalism (he backs President Tshombe) and has sought to entrench his position by public relations, constitutional manipulation, restrictive franchises, and a powerful military establishment. The British Government must now arbitrate between Sir Roy and Mr. Kaunda, who quietly asks whether Northern Rhodesia need lag behind Nyasaland and Kenya, where economic and political problems are greater.

So far Mr. Kaunda has been able to restrain his followers. He has assured them that the British Government means well and that patience will bring the New Jerusalem. In February he accepted a draft constitution that would have given a slim legislative majority to African nationalists. The British Government, under heavy pressure from Sir Roy and its own conservative wing, reneged and in June promulgated an excessively complicated constitution which gives Sir Roy's United Federal Party an absolute white majority.

Mr. Kaunda heard the news in Accra and left for London, unable to believe the press. But it was all too true. During the summer he shuffled between Accra, London, Delhi, Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka, his own capital. Some of his followers rebelled, rioted, and pillaged in Northern Rhodesia's Northern and Luapula Provinces. In September Britain finally said it would reconsider the June constitution if violence ceased. It stopped. If Mr. Maudling falters, Kaunda is almost certain to go and militant immoderates are bound to take his place. Blood could flow, repression would follow, and an eventual black government would not need to be friendly towards the West (it has wealth) nor mindful of the just claims of whites in its midst. A small-scale Congo is even possible. In Kaunda the West has a sensible nationalist who can lead his people to self-government and independence with due regard to their desires and capabilities. Without him a fair and peaceful solution appears unlikely.

Serving Two Masters

The constitutional separation of powers is a reflection of the scriptural aphorism which forecloses a man from serving two masters. Blatant violations – a Senator's spending his spare time on the bench as a federal judge, a Supreme Court Justice's handling clients' interests at the Capitol, or a Cabinet member's doubling as a committee member in the House – have become unthinkable. Yet there is one chink. Certain members of the Congress retain their standing as members of the Armed Forces Reserves and thus do occasional duty in the Executive branch of government.

We are not so doctrinaire as to call this of itself reprehensible, though it must be said that the ease with which certain military appropriations pass has some connection with the fact that the services are the only lobbies which have direct Congressional representation. But the practice of earning active military duty credits by VIP tours of Congressmen abroad is, if not an abuse, at least subject to abuse. And the use of active-duty military tours as occasions for sounding off, as politicians, and seeking brownie points with voters, is going much too far. General Goldwater's exploitation of his European tour to declaim on high policy is, for example, certainly objectionable. Can a man properly be a Senator from Arizona and at the same time an Air Force Brigadier-General on active duty inspecting "his own Arizona National Guard squadron in West Germany"? The point is not that there ought to be a law, but that lacking a law there ought at least to be good taste.

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SOVIET PRESSURE ON SCANDINAVIA CAN EASILY RECUR

Finland's Perilous Neutrality

Helsinki

Shortly before nine o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, November 22, President Urho Kekkonen of Finland got into a black limousine at the door of his official mansion on the outskirts of Helsinki, drove through the gates and slipped out of the city heading east to Novosibirsk in Siberia.

There he was to meet Nikita Khrushchev to discuss Russia's demands on Finland for military consultations and "greater inner political stability" behind Finnish neutrality. The president decided to leave Helsinki as unobtrusively as possible to avoid any public demonstrations. When old President Juho Paasikivi used to be summoned to Russia to deal with Stalin in the early postwar years, Finns would gather by the thousands at the Helsinki station and sing their national anthem in a massive chorus, tears streaming down their faces, as the old-fashioned blue wooden presidential railway car pulled out on the long journey to Moscow.

Kekkonen's departure was no less an emotional moment. In hundreds of inlets along the Finnish coast, small boats that normally would have been hauled out of the water for winter were still at their moorings. Finns were talking openly and writing to relatives abroad of their plans to pack up and leave the country quickly if things went badly for Kekkonen in Siberia.

Four days later on Sunday evening, the blue railway carriage pulled back into Helsinki Station, and this time it was the works: red carpet, the entire cabinet, speech of welcome and praise by the prime minister, diplomatic corps waiting to shake hands, military band and honor guard, and 5,000 or more Finns on hand to cheer.

Khrushchev had agreed at Kekkonen's behest "to put off the military consultations Russia had proposed." Finland's ordeal was over. The president was returning as the savior of his country. To complete his triumph, his principal opponent for the January presidential elections had withdrawn from the race while he was away in Siberia.

Yet although all of Finland now heaved a fervent sigh of relief, something about the whole episode seemed contrived. Finns began to ask themselves what had really happened, why had it happened, and who except for their president and the Russians had really gained.

On the very day they exploded their 50 megaton bomb, the Russians had begun a callous bear-and-mouse game with Scandinavia. President Kekkonen had used the Russian demands, not to rally the Finnish nation, but instead to scatter his political opponents. Now, abruptly, the Russians had forgotten all about the terrible "war threat in the Baltic" they had been whipping up for four weeks, and had suddenly called off their demands. Kekkonen's re-election, virtually unopposed, was now assured. Had this been the whole purpose of the whole exercise? Surely not quite.

At a minimum, the Russians have furnished Scandinavia with a bitter demonstration of their ability to conjure up a "crisis" any time they choose, and through use of fear to dominate Finland's slightest action.

At a maximum, the whole affair may be the beginning of a calculated long-range Soviet strategic thrust against Scandinavia and Europe's northern flank. The softening up of the Finnish political parties and the issuance of a political promissory note to Finland's president may have been the first steps.

Kekkonen, at the center of this web of emotion and politics, is without question not only Finland's "strong man" but practically its only man. He dominates the Finnish political scene, and stands far above any other Finnish politician in ability. Nevertheless, Kekkonen is also extremely controversial in Finland, violently condemned by many. He is no "father figure" to the Finns, as old Paasikivi had been. In the first place, he is politically ruthless. In the second place, he plays the complete lone-wolf with his government and his people. He consults nobody, confides in no one, has no advisers who count for anything, and is capable of the most unpredictable and cynical political tricks and maneuvers. He is of peasant origin, and, like Khrushchev, has an earthy, crude approach to life, politics and humor – and the end of the knout for laggards, beasts of burden, and opponents.

Kekkonen told Khrushchev in 1960 that "if all the rest of Europe were to turn Communist, Finland would stand on her traditional northern democracy so long as the majority of the people want it." But it was also Kekkonen who tried in 1958 under Soviet pressure to arrange for the Communists to re-enter the Finnish government. Possibly he knew in advance, or was not disappointed to find out, that he could not even deliver his own political party, the Agrarians, in support of such a coalition. In any case, after that the Russians left Finland and Kekkonen alone until October 30,

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1961. That day he was on the beach in Honolulu, near the end of a US visit and soon to begin campaigning for re-election for a second six-year term.

Diplomatic, governmental and popular reaction to the Russian note of October 30 was almost unanimous: a major strategic push had begun to secure Russia's northern flank, Khrushchev was wasting no time launching a policy of fifty-megaton diplomacy, and with the 22nd Communist Party Congress still in session he was proving that while denouncing Stalinism and his Stalinist opposition, he could still play the game of Stalinist foreign policy.

If the President of Finland shared this analysis, he did not show it. He immediately dispatched his foreign minister, Ahti Karjalainen, back to Helsinki, but he himself continued the wind-up schedule of his United States visit.

Foreign Minister Karjalainen, after conferring in Moscow with Andrei Gromyko, reported that the demands for military consultations could be dropped provided "the Soviet government could have assurances as quickly as possible that the present foreign policy of Finland will continue and that nothing will prevent the development of friendly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union."

Kekkonen's answer was to move the Finnish parliamentary elections forward from July to February. Finland elects in three stages. On January 16, the country will vote for electors who, on February 16, will elect the president. Thus, in moving the scheduled voting for parliament forward from July to early February, Kekkonen, the politician, was making the parliamentary as well as the presidential elections a test of national confidence in his policies.

Moscow responded to Kekkonen's move by summoning the Finnish ambassador once again and telling him that this wasn't good enough – that the Baltic war threat was immediate, that the West German defense minister was even then visiting Norway, and that Denmark and West Germany were about to agree on a new Baltic command for NATO. Finland must therefore send a delegation "as soon as possible" to discuss the Russian demands.

The conviction now deepened in all of Scandinavia – which had been enjoined by the Finns to pursue a policy of unprovocative silence – that this was strategic and not political.

"What the Russians want is to be absolutely certain that we are on their side in the Berlin crisis and will be on their side in a war. Our concept of neutrality – trying to steer clear of great-power affairs – is not good enough for them any longer," was the analysis of one Finn at this point in the events.

Under the Finnish-Soviet treaty of 1948, there is a provision for military consultations but first it must be established and accepted by Finland that a "threat" of war exists, and after that there is still room for argument as to what the situation requires in the interests of both countries. By clinging tenaciously to such hairlines of interpretation and principle, Finland has slowly built its own particular version of neutrality. President Kekkonen met the Russian offensive by judiciously admitting that Russian views on the threat of war in the Baltic "had weight," but he did not accept them or admit they were true.

How Far Can Finland "Cooperate"?

Against this basic "diplomatic line of defense" laid down by the government, the Finnish general staff set to work to discover what the Soviet Union could legitimately ask of Finland under the 1948 treaty as being truly necessary to Soviet defense, without trespassing on that precarious position of neutrality.

Joint military staff consultations? Reoccupation of the old Soviet base at Porkkala? Preparation of Finnish airfields to receive Soviet jet aircraft? Establishment of Soviet radar and search stations on the west and southern coasts of Finland? Any of these steps would place Finland in the Soviet military camp.

The Finnish general staff concluded there were no legitimate or genuine military demands the Russians could make against Finland – unless they had altered their whole attitude toward Finnish neutrality. That would create what the Finns call "a new situation." And in Finland, all ultimate strength and survival rests on the fact that "a new situation" can mean a price of trouble that even the Russians are not prepared to pay.

In the rest of Scandinavia, the Russian threats were notably failing in their purpose of intimidation, despite Finland's enjoinder of silence on its Nordic partners. Sweden, almost more scared than Finland and protesting its policy of unalterable neutrality at every opportunity, put its armed forces on a semi-alert status, shifted some units into strategic areas, and kept men in barracks over the weekend while also distributing civil defense instructions.

The Finnish ordeal now moved swiftly to its climax. On the one hand, in the rest of Scandinavia there was a conviction that a Russian strategic push was on. But on the other hand, President Kekkonen, reinforced by the general staff findings and his own intuition, decided that the Soviet moves were purely political. He boldly proposed that he himself go to meet Khrushchev to straighten the whole thing out.

Kekkonen came back to Helsinki in far from a generous mood. He paid no tribute to his principal opponent, 68-year-old Olvia Honka, a former justice of the Supreme Court, for withdrawing voluntarily from the race. Instead he turned his attentions to his other

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opponents and told them to quit too.

Where the Paasikivi technique was to rally all of Finland behind him, the Kekkonen technique has been to fragment the Finnish parliament and then stand up to the Russians as a man whom nobody can bring down but who will go just so far in meeting their demands. Nobody questions Kekkonen's patriotism or bravery, but it is a dangerous game, and Kekkonen in this affair has weakened Finnish political life, weakened the prospects for any other leadership in Finland if he fails or vanishes from the scene. His only "fallback position" is the Finnish people's refusal ever to sacrifice the essentials of their freedom. But this would be a far stronger situation if there were greater parliamentary vitality, if there were strong men upon whom Kekkonen relied, if in his dealings with the Russians he were subjecting himself to more checks and balances, if he represented an outpouring of national unity – not anti-Soviet or anti-neutrality or pro-West, but simply pro-Finnish.

When Kekkonen is back in power as Russia's successful candidate, will Moscow then seek its price? All the potential strategic or military demands that were so agonizingly surveyed in Scandinavia are still there if the Russians choose to make them. Or it may be a diplomatic move – recognition of East Germany and Finland's signature on the East German peace treaty. For the diplomats refusal to sign would be as basic a test of Finland's determination to stay neutral as any military demands, but it would be difficult for Finnish public opinion and President Kekkonen to reject if hard pressed.

Moreover, in getting Khrushchev to put off his demands for military consultations, Kekkonen has said that "such a solution would lead to a lessening of the need for military preparations not only in Finland and Sweden but also in Norway and Denmark, which are members of NATO." He has also declared that "the initiation of possible military consultations from now on is primarily the duty of Finland."

These points certainly give the Russians wide latitude to turn on the Finns if they don't like Norway and Denmark some day, or to decide suddenly that Finland is not "doing its duty" in spotting some imaginary threat in the Baltic that warrants military talks. But for the moment, Finland is putting all such calculations aside.

"We may have gained a year or two out of this affair – that's the way it has always been up here with the Russians," said one Finn.

DON COOK

The Horizon's Limits

A Reply to E. H. Carr's View of Progress

by Sanford H. Elwitt

E. H. Carr's view of history, expressed so eloquently in *The New Republic* of October 30, seems to me better adapted to the requirements of his radical ideology than to the facts of history.

Carr sees the course of history as a progressive evolution towards egalitarian societies. In the past, great progressive events occurred in Europe, which was the "world center of gravity." Now Europe is "unchanging" and progress is most clearly seen in political and economic developments beyond Western frontiers. A new world has been born of the 20th Century revolution, a unitary world destined to be dominated by the emerging peoples of Asia and Africa, with Europe and its English-speaking appendages fast becoming backwaters, unresponsive to "progressive" imperatives. Progress if you will, has passed us by. At the present pace the elements of Western civilization soon will become curiosity pieces to be dumped in a universal grab-bag from which non-Westerners may pick and choose ornamentation to decorate their own particular societies. Carr proposes an escape from the dead-end of history, and that is to accept the inescapable conclusion that there is no longer any such thing as Western history and to adjust vision and aspirations to a future in which the Western world will be merely a small unit in a monolithic world-society.

Such a position breeds unhappy results, both logical-

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ly and historically. One is forced to distort history, and he who extols rational thought is forced to abandon rational historical analysis for the irrationality of unsupportable dogma. For example: the Russians led by Lenin made their revolution, beckoned to the West to follow, the West turned away, and therefore doomed itself to the fate of ossification, became *ipso facto* unchanging in an absolute sense because it refused to change in the way Marxism said it ought to change.

The fallacy of Carr's argument lies not only in faulty logic, but also in the assumption that there exists something called "world history." Today, because of revolutionary developments in transportation and communication, every man is every other man's neighbor. Certainly this physical intimacy among all men is totally new and its prospects exciting. But this relationship exists only in two dimensions. There is no historical tradition common to both the West and the non-West to give meaning and depth to our presumptive unity. We can create "world politics" or "world economics" by fiat, overnight, if present conditions are right. But "world history" cannot be created if it has not existed in the past. Westerners and non-Westerners are still not closely intertwined in any cultural sense; it is only their *awareness* of one another that is markedly more acute. To say this is not to play at solipsism, or to refuse to recognize the reality of our political, military and economic dependence on the non-Western world. Nor is it to suggest moral standards for judging between Western and non-Western civilizations. It is simply to say that for historical purposes "we" are still "we," and "they" are still "they." This planet supports many civilizations, many worlds; one of these is the Western world, which has had a recognizable historical development which, upon examination, indicates a possible future course.

What Is the Western Tradition?

Europe and the United States, comprising together the Western world, stand today as complementary parts of a civilization with a unique and rich historical tradition. The Romans established Hellenistic civilization from the Aegean to the Atlantic, from the Rhineland to North Africa. With their achievement as an example, Western man has been obsessed with the idea of recreating, in some durable form, Western unity. It took more than a thousand years after the collapse of Roman power for the Western world to change from an agglomeration of isolated feudal estates to a handful of nation-states. Then the French and industrial revolutions, occurring at a time of stagnation, infused new vitality into Western society, providing the ideology and physical power necessary to change the West from a collection of warring states into a unified community. This supranational economic community, descended from the Roman world-state, has gradually absorbed all nations within the Roman world, as well as their North American appendage. But the implications of Western unity are still far from being worked out.

Nowadays it is very difficult to accept the proposition that our world has limits. Both Marxist and Wilsonian universalists insist, as does Professor Carr, that only the end of humanity is a limit for human action. In cosmic terms this may be true. For the present it is much more sensible for Westerners to accept the geographic limitations of their world and turn to the unlimited prospects for social and economic progress inherent in Western unity.

No one, since the early middle ages, has learned the lesson the Romans taught: they had not the slightest interest in events beyond the Euphrates; they had more sense than to exhaust their resources countering raids and ambushes beyond a carefully drawn line. They knew that the crucial thing was to protect their own highly sophisticated civilization: a federation of disparate cities held together by a common culture. The walls and other fortifications served not only as military barriers, but as an "iron curtain" segregating the Hellenized Romans from the "barbarians."

The Roman federation of cities gave way (between the 4th and 9th Centuries) to the Carolingian confederation of small agricultural units. Hellenistic culture gave way to Christianity.

The heartland of the Carolingian empire was a quadrilateral bounded by the Meuse, the Moselle and the Rhine. Historians know this territory as Lotharingia. For a few years in the 9th Century Lotharingia was the axis around which a unified Europe revolved, from the Elbe to the Atlantic. The shift of political power eastward to Germany and westward to northern France and southern England destroyed the momentary unity. Yet the Carolingian heartland remained the center of a growing economic unit based upon complementary agricultural and commercial activity.

From the Lotharingian base, trade carried wealth northward to the Low Countries and southward into Lombardy, connecting the extremes of English industry and Mediterranean commerce. New trading towns and older administrative centers which had survived and prospered during the years of feudal anarchy expanded to become the foci of a vast economic community transcending dynastic or national frontiers. A commercial complex appeared which recreated the Roman world. By the close of the 17th Century Europe's economic center of gravity had shifted to the Atlantic coast.

This supranational trade complex did not, however, bring political unity. The political center of gravity remained on the Rhine, where it had been since the

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9th Century, symbolizing political stagnation which contrasted vividly with economic vitality. The glittering commerical prosperity of 17th and 18th Century France and England was offset by political disintegration. What Napoleon called a European civil war had raged since the death of Charlemagne. The Hundred Years War, the Thirty Years War, the dynastic conflicts of the 18th Century repeated the same dreary tale of divisive warfare for control of the continent, while a cosmopolitan urban society spawned brilliant efflorescences of culture: the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment. The heirs of the Roman world had still not organized their legacy.

The political and industrial revolutions of 1760-1850 infused into static European society the spirit and energies necessary for economic and social change and for the creation of the modern national state as a further step forward toward the realization of unity.

The liberal-democratic revolution in France in 1789 provided a new ideological framework for the quest for Western unity. The impact of the revolution extended only to those areas which were economically very much like France and had lived for centuries in the Western commercial complex, namely the Low Countries, the Rhineland and Northern Italy. In old Lotharingia the revolutionary armies were greeted as liberators. Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, stretching from the Rhine to the Elbe, brought unity to Western Germany (where a multiplicity of states had long hampered trade), and gave political meaning to the unified economic community of the West.

Like his predecessor Charlemagne, Napoleon failed to incorporate the lands east of the Elbe into his empire. By failing to accept the historic boundaries of the West and diverting energies from the essential task of making a durable unified community out of the French empire and its satellites, Napoleon assured the failure of the Revolution and brought Russia into the European theater.

Once Napoleon had been defeated, the liberal-democratic revolution of 1848 in Central Europe was doomed to failure. Instead of the West German liberal influence carrying eastward, Prussia, a frontier zone alien to the West, conquered and mastered the West. Thus what began in 1789 as an era of great promise for the realization of unity ended in a horrible recreation of the European civil war, a new series of conflicts for the domination of the continent, which ended in 1941 at the gates of Stalingrad.

The industrial revolution transformed the economic foundations of Western society as fundamentally as the French revolution had transformed the political framework. For the first time in history a society could hope to satisfy everyone's material needs. Modern technological power made any attempt to estimate the limits of this transformation merely the wildest of guesses. Democracy acquired a new plausibility.

The industrial revolution also made possible the first substantial contacts between West and non-West. In the non-West industrial development appears to be a primary goal; Asians and Africans have accepted as positive values our material achievements and demand to share in them. They have adopted the industrial revolution as their own without recognizing its prerequisites and corollaries. While the industrialization of Europe proceeded as a direct and traceable consequence of specific historical developments, the industrialization of the non-West has no roots in its own history. It is an adoption of, rather than an adaptation to, a new and alien process, much like the snail who, when his chemistry prevents his developing his own shell, adopts the discarded shell of another species.

The Real Challenge of the 60's

From 1941 to 1945 the United States shouldered an imposed task as vanguard of the West; to reconquer Europe and reestablish principles of civilization which the Germans had consciously rejected in their effort to unify the Continent. This being done, new attempts at unity logically followed – attempts made by cooperation and integration rather than by conquest and domination. Now, 16 years after the collapse of the Third Reich, this unfinished business remains a challenge to our imagination, a test of our courage to face, on the one hand the limitations imposed by Western history and, on the other, the infinite varieties of progress still to be realized.

We must not allow our attention to be diverted from the center of our world by noisy clamorings on the periphery. Of all people, Khrushchev knows this best; perhaps because of his Marxist preoccupation with history he has understood some of its lessons. He explodes multimegaton bombs in the face of hostile non-Western opinion while concentrating serious efforts on Berlin and Germany, the historic frontier of the West. The Russian invaders fear the prospects for Western unity which would make their ambition to absorb Western Europe all but unrealizable.

Looking into the future, I do not consider Atlantic union, or Western European union, a "regression" to some mythical golden age. I do not believe in cyclical history. But I do believe that Western history has followed a discernible pattern of development; that the fixed past imposes certain imperatives for the present; and that while the future remains open there are not an infinite number of choices available if Western unity remains a conscious goal. All of this might stamp me in Professor Carr's book as a "conservative" historian. So be it.

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Right Thinkers and the Rest of Us

Perhaps it is a confession of deplorable literary taste, but of all the writings of the late H. L. Mencken, the most purely Menckenesque and among the most charming in the opinion of this observer, is an extravaganza originally published in the *New Yorker* and reissued by Knopf under the title of "A Christmas Story."

It recounts the defeat of a Baltimore philanthropist with a large tolerance for bums and a profound distaste for the pious, who conceived the idea of giving all the down-and-outs in the city a Christmas dinner that would surpass the hospitality usually extended by the Salvation Army with the difference that nobody, after repletion, would be expected or permitted to stand up, confess his sins, and join in singing hymns. The philanthropist then arranged with a caterer to furnish roast turkey, mashed potatoes, sauerkraut and pie in unlimited quantities every hour on the hour from noon to midnight. He contracted with a brewery to see that the beer never gave out, and with the troupe from a burlesque theater to stage a continuous performance. Finally, he extorted from the police lieutenant commanding the district a promise merely to observe and not to interfere except to prevent actual mayhem.

The initial success of the project was stupendous. All afternoon the bums stowed away the provender in incredible quantities, applauded the burlesquers more rapturously after each successive performance, and kept the brewery trucks running steadily. The police lieutenant, although sure that he was violating his Hippocratic oath by not raiding the joint, resisted the impulse. But about 10 p.m. the point of satiation was reached and a momentary hush fell.

Then up rose the crummiest bum in the lot and spake winged words. "Friends," he began, "I confess that I used to be a miserable sinner until . . ." and five minutes later the hall was resounding to the strains of Moody and Sankey. Shaking his head sadly, the police lieutenant spoke the epilogue.

"It's a conditioned reflex," he said. "Whenever they smell turkey they gotta confess."

This tale remains in ill repute among right-thinking persons. In their estimation, irreverence and joyous hyperbole are too sinful to be compensated by any amount of wit and deep understanding of human nature. Nevertheless the story comes to mind at this season whenever, as never fails to happen, the caroling is interrupted by sounds of woe emitted by a bishop, an editorial writer, or some other corrector of manners and morals.

The discordant note is sounded this time by a pessimist in holy orders who was recently quoted in the public prints as proposing that the churches abandon celebration of Christmas as a religious festival and turn it over entirely to commercial interests that seem to be taking over anyhow.

Methinks the reverend doctor doth protest too much. To be sure, "Silent night" blared through a loudspeaker that can be heard for seven blocks is a felony, but the crime is against the art of music, rather than against the spirit of Yule.

Historically, of course, the festival of the winter solstice was a pagan institution before the beginning of the Christian era. Its immense popularity made it one of a number of pagan customs that the wisdom of the early Church deemed worth Christianizing; so it was assigned to the Nativity, much as the English monarch's birthday is always celebrated in June, no matter what date he was actually born on.

Therefore it is no more logical to regard modern Christmas as a religious festival partially desecrated than to regard it as a pagan festival partially sanctified. Of course, the hucksters are making a shocking mockery of Christmas, but what do you expect? The hucksters make a mockery of anything they touch in the realm of the mind and the spirit. Witness the way they take advantage of mankind's reasonable and proper fear of radioactive fallout to bump the boobs for millions by selling them shelters that would be about as efficient against fallout as paper parasols.

Even for the pagan the meaning of Yule was that the retreating sun was about to turn and come back to wake the dead frozen earth to life again. For the Christian, of course, the promised resurrection is far more significant; but for all men it is a promise, and to receive it without joy would be to doubt it. If joy proceeds into jollity, it is nonetheless real.

So here is an opinion – heretical, perhaps, but unabashed: the wailing right-thinkers are not really more pious than the rest of us. Like the bums, they are governed by a conditioned reflex – whenever they smell joy, they gotta lament.

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1961 As It Looked To MAULDIN & HERBLOCK

"Why, Joe, I Didn't Know You Was a Harvard Man, Too"

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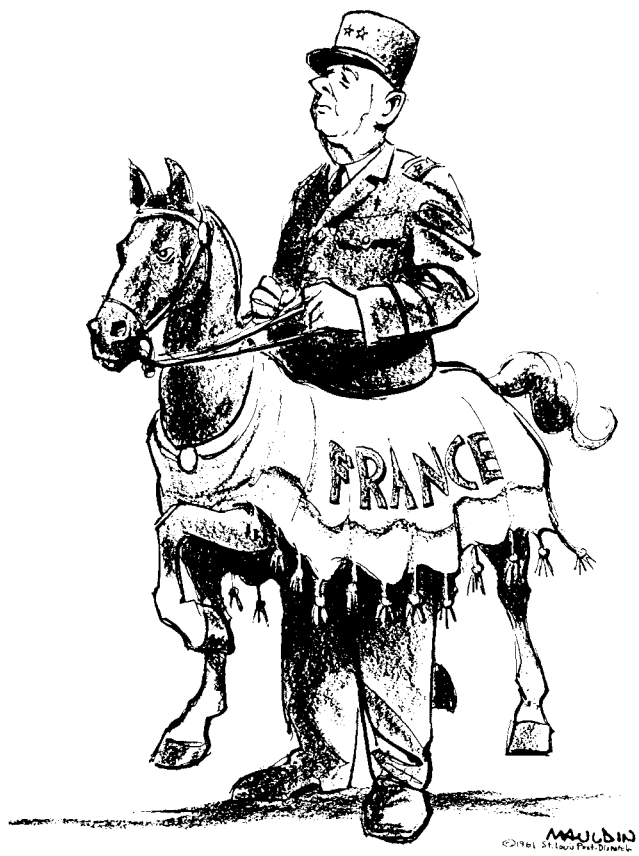
"You're Nice, and I Like You, But I Don't Feel Like Moving"

Malice in Wonderland



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"Good Gracious, You Mean To Say Something's Been Going on Here for 50 Years?"

AMA
SOCIAL SECURITY HEALTH PLAN
"WE HAVE TO FIGHT WITH EVERY RESOURCE, RIGHT DOWN THE LINE" – American Medical Association policy.
M.D.
HERBLOCK

"Now, Has Everyone Got One of These Little Figures and a Set of Pins?"

"We've Been Killing 'Em in Washington"

"If You Had Any Initiative You'd Go Out and Inherit a Department Store"

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The War Between Adams and Hamilton

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

In 1950, when the Princeton University Press brought out the first volumes of Julian Boyd's edition of the Jefferson papers, President Truman asked the National Historical Publications Commission to consider a publication program for other American heroes. The next year the Commission recommended special attention to the papers of five persons – Franklin, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Hamilton and Madison. The Commission's report provided a stimulus both to scholarship and subsidy, and the results, when completed, will vastly enlarge the documentary record of our history. Today the Franklin papers are being published at Yale, and the Madison papers at the University of Virginia. Now, with these first volumes of the Adams and Hamilton papers, Harvard and Columbia are making their contributions to this notable reconquest of our past.

The Adams Papers:
Volumes I through IV
Diary and Autobiography
of John Adams
L. H. Butterfield, editor
(Harvard; $30)

The Papers of Alexander Hamilton
Volumes I and II
Harold C. Syrett, editor
(Columbia; $25)

Both these sets are superb technical jobs. They are splendidly printed, and the editing is full and meticulous without becoming intrusive or pedantic. The general reader is more likely to find, of the volumes so far published, the Adams papers more interesting than the Hamilton papers. This is partly because Adams, with his fuss and crotchets, is a more human figure, partly because the Hamilton volumes only go to 1781 and thus cover only the bare start of Hamilton's public career, partly because L. H. Butterfield, with a genial conception of his editorial responsibility, introduces his first volume with a sparkling and sympathetic essay on the Adamses. Harold Syrett, who evidently has a more austere view of the editorial task, keeps his comment severely technical. I hope that he does not hold to this practice, because I am sure that he has things of interest to say about Hamilton, and he should feel free to say them.

It is appropriate that the papers of these two ancient antagonists should begin publication the same year – and in a year which is much concerned with the character of American conservatism. The two men cordially disliked each other for reasons philosophical as well as personal. Hamilton's savage polemic against Adams in 1800 ("the unfortunate foibles of a vanity without bounds, and a jealousy capable of discoloring every object . . . the disgusting egotism, the distempered jealousy and the ungovernable indiscretion of Mr. Adams' temper," etc., etc.) is extremely familiar. Charles Francis Adams, in editing John Adams' autobiography, softened and even suppressed some of his grandfather's retorts; but Dr. Butterfield has now restored them in all their magnificent and incoherent outrage. "Although I have long since forgiven this Arch Enemy," Adams wrote, "yet Vice, Folly and Villany are not to be forgotten, because the guilty Wretch repented, in his dying Moments. . . . Born on a Speck more obscure than Corsica, from an Original not only contemptible but infamous, with infinitely less courage and Capacity than Bonaparte, he would in my Opinion, if I had not controuled the fury of his Vanity, instead of relieving this Country from Confusion as Bonaparte did France, he would have involved it in all the Bloodshed and distractions of foreign and civil Wars at once."

Both Adams and Hamilton were, of course, Federalists. Both accepted the view of human nature propounded by Hume in a quotation cherished by Hamilton: "In contriving any system of government . . . *every man* ought to be supposed a *knave;* and to have no other end in all his actions, but *private interest.* By this interest, we must govern him, and by means of it, *make him cooperate to public good,* notwithstanding his insatiable avarice and ambition." But at this point their paths sharply diverged. Hamilton was the first great modernizer in our history. He believed that the development of his adopted country required a national government and an industrial economy; and his politics consisted in transferring authority to the centralizers and income to the entrepreneurs. Adams was essentially almost as much of an agrarian as Jefferson. He detested the new capitalism ("A bank that issues paper at interest is a pickpocket or a robber . . . an aristocracy is growing out of them that will be fatal as the feudal barons, if unchecked") and he wanted an America that would be stable, responsible and unchanging.

Adams was thus more consistent than Hamilton in his belief in the knavery of men. Hamilton was ready to repose confidence in the "rich and well-born" on the ground that, "as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government." He believed that "no plan could succeed which did not unite the interest and credit of rich individuals with those of the state." Adams, on the other hand, found little to choose between the greedy rich and the hungry poor. "There is no reason," he wrote, "to believe the one much honester or wiser than the other"; in a homogeneous system, "equal laws can never be expected: they will either be made by numbers, to plunder the few who are rich, or by influence, to fleece the many who are poor." Adams therefore argued that

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the constitution of society must take into account the divisions created by the unequal distribution of property and provide safeguards for both classes by giving each a chamber of the legislature.

They were sharply contrasting figures – the staunch, irascible, honest Yankee lawyer with his instinct for the past, and the ambitious, lucid, bold West Indian adventurer with his instinct for the future. And the contrast illuminates a chronic dilemma of American conservatism: does conservatism mean a belief in keeping things as they are? or does it mean a faith in the "rich and well-born" even if such faith may be a means of change? Adams' philosophy would have probably produced social responsibility but economic stagnation; Hamilton's has produced social irresponsibility but economic progress.

In the absence of a feudal background, there could have been no place in America for Adams' conception of a political order founded on economic castes. Hamilton, though finding himself a "stranger" in America and concluding at the end of his life that "this American world was not made for me," had nevertheless the clearer view of the American destiny. Our national energies took the Hamiltonian course, which meant an expanding and inventive economy accompanied by an often witless faith in the superiority of the "rich and well-born" (and, in counteraction, a retort to Hamiltonian government charged with Jeffersonian purpose). And it can be argued that the Hamiltonian tradition, despite its contempt for the mass, has done more for people by its effect in increasing output and raising living standards, than the Adams tradition, with all its desire to vindicate the place of the poor, could ever have done.

ART

Thomas Eakins in Retrospect

The portraits in the Eakins Retrospective now in Chicago must number more than half the show. In a sense, they take up almost all the show, for the great set pieces of the artist, most of them included, are also portraits: "The Biglen Brothers Turning the Stake" is a double portrait as well as a study in perspective and solidity and motion; the hallucinatory clarity of "Max Schmitt in a Single Scull" contains both a portrait of the rower and a self-portrait; the second of the great surgical pictures, "The Agnew Clinic," has not only a full cast of identifiable characters but, tucked into a corner, a portrait of Eakins by Mrs. Eakins. The prize-fight pictures represent more than the artist's seizing one of the few late Victorian opportunities to study the nude; they are also portraits of specific boxers, handlers, ring officials and even time-keepers.

Thomas Eakins
A Retrospective Exhibition
Chicago, through January 7
Philadelphia, February 1 – March 18

Eakins, then, from his return to his native Philadelphia in 1870 at the age of 26, set out to paint the face of his time. His success gravely regards us from the walls of the exhibition in the eyes of the dozens of men and women painted from 1870 to 1910, six years before the painter's death. Yet Eakins was no ordinary portrait artist, nor even an extraordinary one. Not only is there an absence of the surface brio of his younger contemporary, Sargent, there is none of the "I count only the sunny hours" attitude that seems an essential part of all portraiture. It seems, in the work, not a question of painting warts and all but simply that the question of warts as opposed to sunny hours never came up. He painted what he saw, but what he saw was different, deeper, than what was seen by others, including the sitters.

The circumstances testify to the same thing. The youthful Eakins began his career not in the Philadelphia tradition of portraiture that is older than the Republic, but in a different tradition, one as old as art, but one which Eakins discovered for himself. In it the relationship between painter and subject is the reverse of that between commissioning patron and fashionable portraitist, the latter combining the roles of hairdresser and couturier. Eakins selected his subjects for his own purposes and usually presented them with the finished paintings as gifts.

Something else should be said of the subjects. Taken together they comprise the most ambitious attempt to portray an intellectual-artistic community since Raphael's imaginary portraiture of the "School of Athens." Just as there is no strictly speaking society portraiture in the body of work, so there is very little painting of the rich, the idle, the fashionable, or even of people of means desiring to have their pictures painted. The subjects, to a surprising degree, are people professionally engaged at the various Philadelphia institutions of learning, including the Pennsylvania Academy and the University. Also, more often than not, certainly more often than is customary, the subjects are shown at work. This aspect, further, is different from the conventional additions of a few symbolic objects to the straight-on view of the sitter. Rather there is involvement. The superb portrait of Professor Holland, for example, calling out the names of degree candidates is far from a conventional figure pose taking advantage of academic robes; the robes are entirely secondary to the personal in the work at hand: the professor holds the roster and looks up, eyebrows raised, eyes attentive, at the yearly result of the institutional program. Again, Professor Miller, lecturing from notes, is clearly hard at work, both with the material he is reading and with the unseen audience he is reading to. So with the musicians, mathematicians, engineers and critics. They are men deeply involved in the life of the intellect and their involvement contributes as much as Eakins' conscious mastery of composition to the vital tension that makes each of the portraits live.

The only painting in the show that comes close, in subject matter, to the great theme of the times, conspicuous

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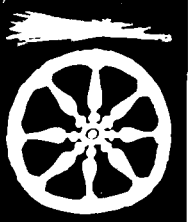

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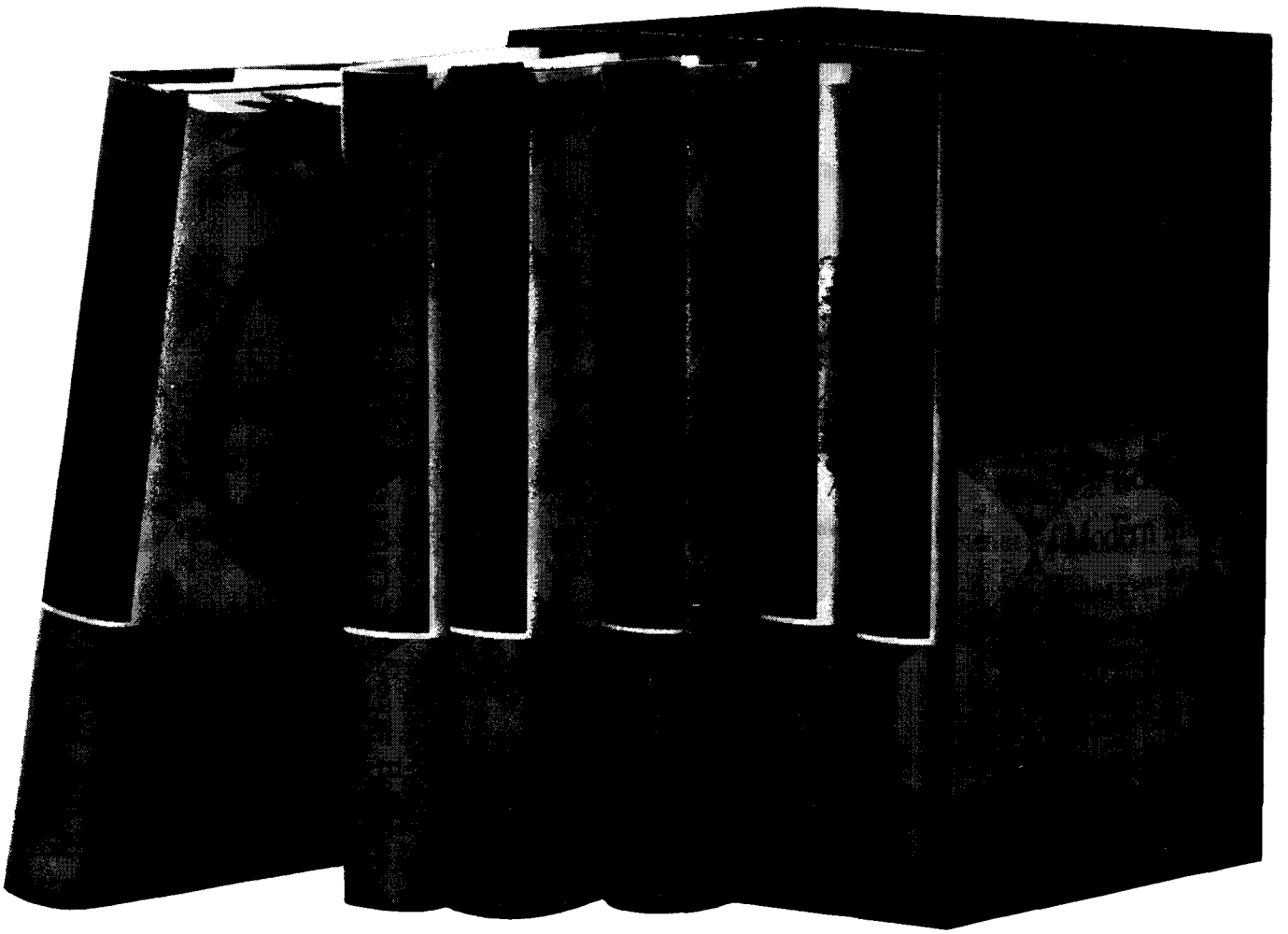

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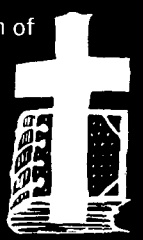

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consumption, is the well known "Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand." But through Eakins' eyes the coach and four and its passengers are seen not as emblems of wealth but as a remarkable group exercise requiring skill and steady attention.

Similarly, "The Pathetic Song" tells us something about the nature of the music and the reactions to it of the singer, the cellist and the pianist; more important, though, it shows us a group enterprise in the arts, requiring much more skill and training than the jaunt in the park; the three are attentive not only to the song but especially to each other and Eakins makes this inescapable by locking the three heads into a triangle in depth itself held firmly by the piano, the vase and the picture frame. The song, the painter insists, is certainly a shared emotional experience, but before that it is a shared intellectual-artistic experience.

It is odd, at first thought, that one of the great sets of paintings of this towering realist should be a "history" in the old fashioned sense, the story of "William Rush Carving His Allegorical Figure of the Schuylkill River." The figure, carved in 1809, was done for the Philadelphia waterworks and was a female nude, a source of scandal to Philadelphia in 1809 and again in the seventies and eighties toward the end of which Eakins finally got the sack over the issue of nude models.

So there was certainly a personal aspect to the choice of this single "historical" subject, a subject Eakins painted early and again at the end of his career, though the latter pictures, unfortunately, are not in the exhibition. But there was more to it than that. The picture expresses not merely the Rush-Eakins defiance of Philadelphia propriety for the sake of art. Propriety aside, there is an allegory here beyond that of the Schuylkill River nourishing Philadelphians with its waters. The hero of the history, Rush, is seen but dimly, in the background, hammering away at his material. The light shines down the figure of the model, in the foreground, illuminating both the bare flesh and, through shadow, the intricate muscle structure from neck to ankle, the tension and involvement of an entire human figure in the act of art.

FRANK GETLEIN

MOVIES

Jest and Youthful Jollity

Holiday texts from Milton, to fit three holiday films – two for the young and one for children. The first, by Philippe de Broca, is replete with

"Quips and Cranks and wanton Wiles,
Nods and Becks and wreathed Smiles."

This young French director is now dear to many of us for his first two films, especially *The Joker*. His latest,

The Five Day Lover (Kingsley)
La Belle Americaine (Continental)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (Showcorporation)

The Five Day Lover, is not equally sound in theme and plot, and its resolution – the familiar credo of the complaisant husband – is the merest excuse to justify what has gone before; but any plot, any excuse is sufficient to justify such ebullience in love and sex, such pleasure in the fact of pleasure.

Again Jean-Pierre Cassel is de Broca's Harlequin, an actor who rarely smiles and rarely needs to, because out of the fluency of his movement, the tempo of his gait, the relish of his love-making comes all the brio that he needs. He tells us about his feelings with nice obliqueness; *e.g.*, awaiting a girl's visit, he straightens his tie in a mirror, scowls at himself, then bursts into a few stamping Spanish steps.

Jean Seberg is the girl and, having let her hair grow, an attractive one. She is like a plant that has prospered by transplanting. For the present, there's no need to hail her talent, but France and French directors have released whatever there is in her of spontaneity, of warmth and fun. Micheline Presle, whose effect as woman and accomplishments as actress are not yet challenged by Miss Seberg, and Francois Perier, a not quite certain actor, complete the principal quartet.

The title doesn't mean a lover who stays five days; it means a week-day lover, as against a husband whose attentions are available only on weekends. Cassel is an ex-salesman being kept by Miss Presle, a successful couturier. He commences an affair with Miss Seberg, who is married to Perier and is the mother of two. She tells her husband that she is spending her afternoons with her friend Miss Presle who, in turn, doesn't know that her lover is deceiving her. If the plot sounds asthmatic, treat it like an opera libretto. Believe it if you choose; its real purpose is to provide a framework for solos and ensembles.

There is no scene in this film, no single shot, that is not planned by de Broca with taste and a sure sense of line. He can hold his own with other directors in the sheerly pictorial. (See the long shot under the great trees at Chantilly.) But it is in the matter of making each scene reveal itself in *movement* that he has few peers and fewer superiors. He is also especially sensitive to the complementary purpose of settings; his décor is his chorus. In *The Joker* the crazy house kept commenting on the characters; here the furnishings of Cassel's flat combine luxury and lubricity in a cozily seductive way.

All three de Broca films have been escape pictures for adults. *The Love Game* and *The Joker* made us realize what we ought to have been doing when we were young. *The Five Day Lover* celebrates the sense of romance that befuddles our lives but to which we must cling if only to make sobriety seem worthwhile by contrast. Breathes there a man with soul so dumpy that he has not wanted at some time to storm into a smart restaurant just after it has closed, with a beautiful girl on his arm, scattering banknotes to headwaiter and staff as he goes, taking a table in the huge empty room, ordering wines and a feast, and summoning violins?

"Towered cities please us then,
And the busy hum of men."

A humming corner of Paris is Robert

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Dhery's province in *La Belle Americaine*, and the belle of the title is a car. Dhery is a poor factory worker who comes home one day with a Cadillac convertible. (A millionaire's widow has sold it for a song because the will directs that the sale-price go to the dead man's mistress.) The Cadillac's consequences for Dhery, his wife and friends are traced in a story that René Clair might have invented but would have edited more rigorously. A total of about ten minutes skimmed from the film and a few changes of cast (two parts are played by a witless comedian named Louis de Funes) would have produced a continuous hour and a quarter chuckle.

Dhery and his wife Colette Brosset (both known from *La Plume de ma tante*) play husband and wife. His direction waits around for laughs a shade too long; his performance cannot be criticized for anything committed but only for what, finally, he lacks: charm. Nevertheless his picture is the amusing distillation of silent-film comedy that *Zazie* tried to be and isn't.

You can please yourself and your children by taking them to hear

"... sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild . . ."

although, in fact, the warbling is the least of it in this case. From Czechoslovakia comes a film of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* done with animated figures. The work of Jiri Trnka, it is enchantingly drawn and exquisitely colored. These flowers, trees, birds, people, and elves define the difference between fairyland and Disneyland. The film is Fancy made visible.

Shakespeare's play, at its fullest, it is not. The sound-track carries narration by Richard Burton and performances by some Old Vic actors, but with the exception of Alec McCowen as Bottom the Weaver, there is not much here to commend.

The eyes have it; and Milton has the last word.

"These delights if thou canst give,
Trnka, with thee I mean to live."

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RECORDS

Big Names, Big Works

In Verdi's greatest work, *Otello*, the incandescent writing moves with a continuity of flow and momentum that is marvelously realized by Toscanini with his pacing of the performance on RCA Victor LM-6107, but not by von Karajan in the new performance on London A-4352 (mono) and OSA-1324 (stereo), or by Serafin in the one on Victor LD- and LDS-6155; each breaks the momentum now and then with a poorly chosen tempo, or by slowing down in deference to a singer's stretching out of the phrase. For someone who values effective performance above present-day sound the Toscanini performance – with excellent singers and orchestra – remains the one to acquire; but to the person who insists on the sound I would say the Victor is the more satisfying of the new performances. For the London performance has the lovely singing of Tebaldi as Desdemona and the beautiful playing of the Vienna Philharmonic, but is blighted by the unpleasantly rough and rasping sounds, loud and soft, from Del Monaco as Otello; whereas the Victor has fine singing by Vickers, the Otello, and Rysanek, the Desdemona (except in the last act, where she appears to be using half her voice and to be half a mile away), and the superb Iago of Gobbi. Both performances interrupt Act 3 at a point of high tension in order to include the ballet music that Verdi had to insert for the Paris production and that is always rightly omitted; and the distribution of the Victor performance on the records results in breaks in the two duets of Otello and Desdemona and a disturb-

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ing break during the course of Act 4.

Commercial recording's exploitation of the big-name, big-box-office performer works out well artistically when the performer is a Bjoerling, but not when he is a Del Monaco. It works out well when the performer is a Callas with the extraordinary voice she began with, but not when she is a Callas with that voice in the deteriorated condition it exhibits in the new performance of Bellini's *Norma* on Angel 3615 and S-3615: the high notes are unpleasant in timbre and afflicted by an enormous wobble that now extends to part of the lower range. For the rest, the La Scala performance conducted by Serafin has beautiful singing by Christa Ludwig as Adalgisa, acceptable singing by Corelli as Pollione, and good singing by Zaccaria as Oreviso.

I find it incredible that at this late date anyone should record anything but Musorgsky's own version of *Boris Godunov;* but George London, who has sung in that version at the Metropolitan, reverts to the Rimsky-Korsakov falsification for his performance of several scenes with an orchestra, chorus and other soloists conducted by Schippers on Columbia ML-5673 and MS-6273. The performance is for those who want only London's impressive singing; and for those who want Musorgsky's music I recommend Victor LM-6063, in which Tozzi provides an excellent Boris.

Strauss' *Don Quixote* – with a flow of inspired invention making the programmatic points brilliantly, with every note in the complex texture really counting for something, and with none of the usual Straussian excesses or errors of taste – is for me Strauss' masterpiece. And on Epic LC-3786 and BC-1135 Szell conducts his excellent Cleveland Orchestra in a highly effective performance with Fournier as cello soloist (the monophonic sound is harsh without a 10-kc cut-off). Szell's treatment of the German classics, on the other hand, I find pedestrian; and his slowing down at the end of the first movement and in the latter part of the third movement of Beethoven's Ninth, with Adele Addison's vocal inadequacy in the finale, cause me to advise against the performance on Epic SC-6041 and BSC-112.

In Bruno Walter's performance of Mozart's Symphonies K.385 (*Haffner*) and K.551 (*Jupiter*) with a recording orchestra, on Columbia ML-5655 and MS-6255, even the opening movements that begin well become slack with the occasional slowing down of the tempo that should be kept steady, and this is part of a general lack of vital energy and animation.

After Leonard Bernstein's other unsatisfying performances of Beethoven it was an agreeable surprise to hear the rightness and effectiveness of his dealing with the Missa Solemnis, except for the hushed, mystical introduction to the Benedictus, where Bernstein had the orchestra play with a heaving impassioned expressiveness which seemed to me very wrong and ineffective. The performance on Columbia M2L-270 and M2S-619 has excellent work by the New York Philharmonic, the Westminster Choir and the solo quartet comprising Eileen Farrell, Carol Smith, Richard Lewis and Kim Borg.

Two of Chopin's finest large-scale works, his Sonatas Opp. 35 and 58, are on Victor LD- and LDS-2554 – the first played well by Rubinstein in the highly mannered rubato style that is traditional but in my opinion exaggerated, the second played more straightforwardly and, I think, better.

Three of Bach's greatest works for organ, the Toccata and Fugue in D minor, the Toccata, Adagio and Fugue in C, and the Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor, are on Columbia ML-5661 and MS-6261, played well by E. Power Biggs on the new classic-style Flentrop organ in Harvard's Busch-Reisiger Museum. The sounds from this instrument are a pleasure to hear; but even these compact sounds, reproduced without the usual blurring reverberation, are sometimes not clearly distinguishable in the contrapuntal textures.

And for those who enjoy the pleasant pieces for lute by Dowland, Morley and less well-known Elizabethan composers on Victor LD- and LDS-2560 I can report that they are played with admirable continuity of rhythm and phrase-outline by Julian Bream.

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